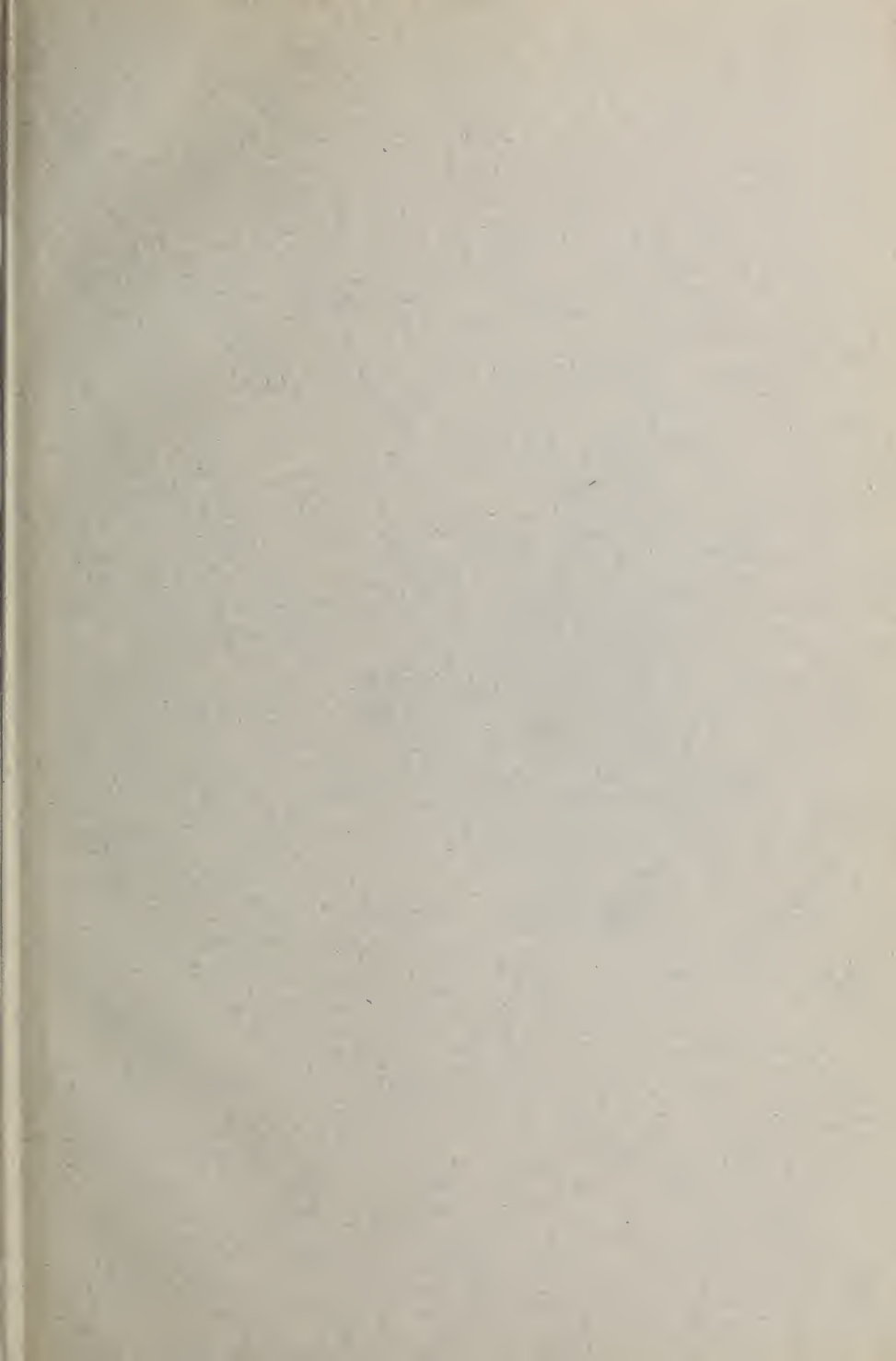


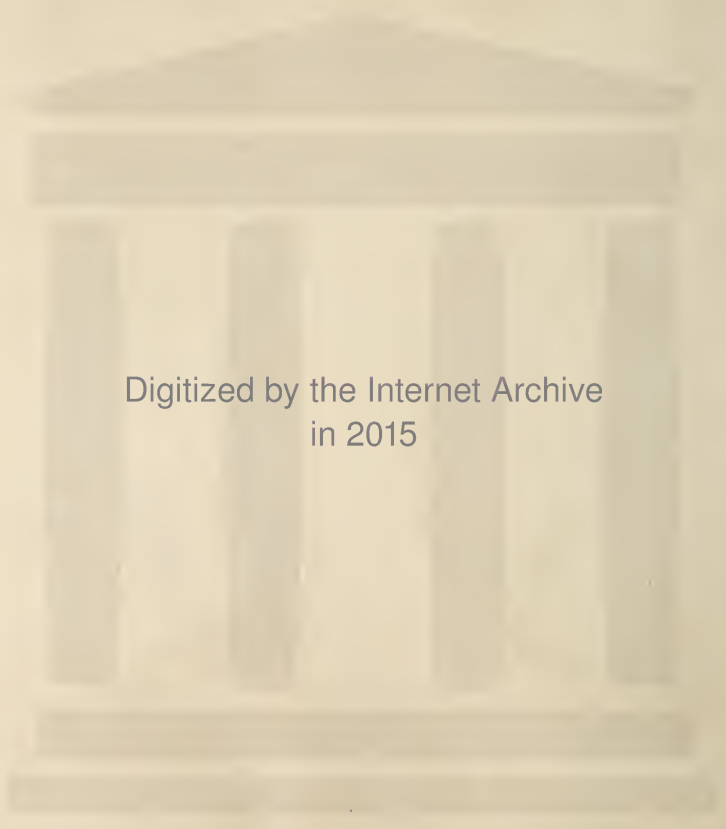
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THE AFRICAN REPOSITORY.

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For The African Repository.

CAPE PALMAS, LIBERIA.

BY DR. JAMES HALL.

Extract of a letter from the Rev. S. D. Ferguson, Bishop-elect of Liberia, to Dr. Hall, dated at Cape Palmas, April 22d, 1884.

"On the 22d of Feb. last, the citizens of this place celebrated the semi-centennial anniversary of the settlement of the Colony. Native representatives from nearly all the Grebo tribes were present and joined in the performance. It would have cheered your heart to have heard the speeches made by the kings of Rocktown, Cape Palmas and Cavally, after the public dinner, expressive of their good feelings towards the Liberians. Of course your name was frequently mentioned during the exercises."

To many of the readers of the REPOSITORY, interested in Colonization as they are supposed to be, this brief notice of the semi-centennial celebration of the founding of one of the Liberia settlements may be of little or of passing interest, but to the writer, whose name is therein referred to, the effect is far otherwise. It carries him back to a distant period of time, when with but a handful of poor colored people, not select or chosen for character or intelligence, he raised the then "Lone Star" on that beautiful head-land, Cape Palmas; rightly so named, as it bears the palm for sea view and views from sea of all settlements on the west coast of Africa.

As "Maryland," embracing Cape Palmas, forms one of the finest counties of Liberia, it cannot be considered out of place to cover a few pages of the REPOSITORY with a brief history of its founding and the causes leading thereto, more especially, as any allusion to it seldom occurs in its columns.

In the early history of Colonization, Maryland soon appeared as one of its main supporters. The first Agent, sent to purchase Cape Mesurado was a Marylander, Dr. Eli Ayres, selected by Francis S. Key. The ves-

sel, which afterwards took Ashmun to Liberia, sailed from Baltimore, and much of the means requisite was furnished by its citizens. The first appropriation made by any State was that of \$1,000 by Maryland. All this, through the Maryland Colonization Society, *auxilliary* to the American Colonization Society. Under the same direction too, was the fitting out of the schooner Orion in Nov., 1831, with 31 emigrants, at the charge of the Maryland Auxilliary Society, a vessel in which the writer first visited Liberia.

In the session of the Legislature of Maryland of 1831--32, several acts were passed specially favoring African Colonization. First, the Maryland *State* Colonization Society was chartered, independent of any other association. Secondly, an act was passed appropriating \$200,000 in gross, to be expended under direction of a "State Board of Managers," also created by this act, who should also be members of the Maryland State Colonization Society. The fund to be used, or parts thereof, as required, in transporting and settling free colored people from the State in Liberia. This action of the Legislature was doubtless influenced, in a degree, by the "Southampton Massacre," as it was termed, headed by a Negro, Nat. Turner, which took place in the autumn of 1831. Virginia, in the meantime, barely failed to pass an act for gradual emancipation—excited to a lively consideration of the subject of her large colored population by the same cause.

But the munificent appropriation by the Maryland Legislature in aid of African Colonization, made, as it was, at a period of the State's deep indebtedness, although influenced in a degree by the late horror in Virginia, was by no means a result of a spontaneous movement on the part of the citizens of the State; but conceived and engineered, as most legislation is, by individuals or associations outside, having a special interest in the subject. It is not saying too much to affirm, that this whole matter was effected by and through the untiring energy and perseverance of one man, Jno. H. B. Latrobe, then a young lawyer of the city of Baltimore, since so well known as the honored president of the American Colonization Society.

Mr. Latrobe had been indoctrinated in the cause of African Colonization while a law student in the office of his teacher and friend, the Hon. Robert Goodloe Harper, then a distinguished lawyer of Baltimore, and perhaps the most ardent and influential friend of the cause in the country at that period.

From the beginning, Mr. Latrobe made it second only to his profession; and failed not to gather around him influential men of all classes, young associates of his profession, as Howard, Harper,

Read, Anderson, and others, but older men of all callings, professions and creeds, amongst others a fair proportion of merchants and business men, so important in all undertakings involving an expenditure of funds. Of the newly chartered Maryland State Colonization Society, he was at once elected Corresponding Secretary—in fact, he was the *primum mobile* of its operations; the President, at that time, a gentle man of distinction and influence, being merely its figure-head.

The first expedition to Liberia, organized and fitted out by the State Society, was that of the Bark Lafayette, in the autumn of 1832, having on board 146 emigrants, mostly from the Eastern Shore—a very respectable body of colored people. This was rather an experiment; as there had been much dissatisfaction at the reception and care of a former emigration from the State. The reports of agent, the emigrants and the master of the Lafayette, increased this dissatisfaction, and after some controversy with the officers of the American Colonization Society in regard to the matter, it was determined to form a new settlement on the coast. The question of *secession* was agitated, not “whether to fight the union in or out of the union,” for there was no antagonism in the views or interest of the two Societies, but more literally correct, whether to secure the site or locality for a separate settlement within the limits of the then colony of Liberia, or to seek a place outside, entirely independent thereof. The latter plan was earnestly advocated by Mr. Latrobe, and adopted. Years previous, the writer thinks, in 1828, at an annual meeting of the American Colonization Society, in the Hall of the House of Representatives in Washington, Mr. Clay in the chair, Mr. Latrobe made his maiden Colonization speech—advocating the securing of other points on the African coast for settlement than Monrovia, especially Cape Palmas. Hence, on this decision of the Board, Mr. Latrobe at once advocated the selection of that point as the most suitable for the proposed settlement. Nothing was then known of its special advantages for the purpose, except its geographical position, forming an angle of that great Continent, where the coast-line changes from southeast to east and east by north, leading to the Gold Coast and the outlets of the great river Niger.

Nothing could be done in the premises, until more definite information should be obtained of its fitness and availability for a settlement. Correspondence must be commenced with parties on the coast or an agent of discovery dispatched. A solution of the question more reliable than that of any augur or Haruspice of old, here came in—a letter from the present writer, directed to his old friend, Dr. Ayres, fell into the hands of the Secretary, in which he entered

into a full description of Cape Palmas as a most eligible site for a new settlement. On his passage to Liberia, amongst other matter placed in his hands for information concerning Colonization and Liberia, was a copy of the AFRICAN REPOSITORY, containing the speech of Mr. Latrobe before referred to; and having occasion to visit the leeward coast in the Margaret Mercer for the purchase of rice for emigrants, he took pains to examine Cape Palmas and make enquiry as to its fitness for an American settlement. With this information a *ratification* resolution was passed, *adopting* Cape Palmas as *ours*.

As the Board of Managers or even the Corresponding Secretary, were not disposed to conduct an expedition to found the settlement, the question came up, who can we get, and who knows anything of the character of an outfit for purchase? *and all that and all that*. Here, again, comes in the augur—or the man, *at* the hour of need. The writer, by two years' hard service as physician in the Colony, by almost daily passing up and down the tortuous Stockton creek for the last six months, had become so impregnated with malaria, that further service seemed impossible, and he was forced to return to America for recuperation. In all his life he was never more warmly welcomed by strangers or even friends than by the Secretary of the Society. After repeated interviews with him and other members of the Board of Managers, it was proposed to him to take charge of the expedition for founding a settlement at Cape Palmas, or elsewhere, in case that could not be secured, and act as Governor of the as yet, "Island of Barataria." This proposal the writer could not forbear accepting, although fully sensible of the responsibility of the undertaking and the many chances of failure in execution of the task to the satisfaction of the Society or even to himself. In the first place, his heart was in the cause, not exactly of Colonization, but of Liberia. By a residence of two years in Monrovia, he had imbibed a deep interest in the Colony, and formed most friendly relations with many of its citizens, especially Russwurm, McGill, Roberts, Day, and many others. Without vanity or over estimate of his ability, he felt that he could better execute the task than any other man they could or would be likely to secure, and that from his peculiar fitness therefor. His early training before and while acquiring his profession had made him familiar with business, and in Africa he had acquired knowledge most invaluable and important for the position. He was acclimated—he had attended scarcely less than one thousand patients in the African fever; he was familiar with the African trade, with the peculiarities and habits of the natives, well acquainted with the colonists, and able to make good selections of necessary assistants: and more than all, had visited the various towns on the entire

coast-line to and including the point proposed for settlement. With these qualifications, however deficient in other respects, he felt sure of the way before him, extraordinary exceptions, and accepted the agency quite as much for the benefit of the Society as for its accordance with his own wishes or ambition.

Early in the autumn of 1833, in connection and under direction of the officers of the Society, the agent addressed himself to the business of preparing for the expedition. Estimates were made of trade goods for purchase and support, means of defence, frames of houses for agent and missionaries, provisions for emigrants, agricultural and mechanical tools, house and office furniture, medicines and condiments, in fact, everything required by living human beings removed from any source of supply. In all business operations of this kind the agent was met by prompt assistance from the various committees of the Board, especially by the Secretary, Mr. Latrobe. He was back of all and in all, the moving spirit, in organizing committees, collating reports, corresponding with the various outside parties interested in the movement, missionary societies and philanthropists throughout the country. In addition to business actually in hand, to use a familiar sea term, he *forelaid* for the future in Africa, in executing a Bill of Rights, Declaratory Ordinance and laws for the government of the proposed colony, with general instructions for the agent.

Of the many having a special interest in the expedition, was the Secretary of the American Board of Missions, Dr. Wisner, with two missionaries of the Board, Messrs. Wilson and Wynkoop, the latter of whom were to visit the coast with the view of establishing a mission in or about Cape Palmas. Hindrances, unavoidable, occurred to delay the departure of the expedition till late in November, much to the regret and distress of the agent, as he well knew the necessity of getting the emigrants housed ere the commencement of the rainy season, a consummation as yet remote and depending on so many contingencies. The vessel chartered was not suitable for the voyage, being forced upon the Society from the scarcity of vessels in port. Finally, however, on the 25th, the brig *Ann*, of some 160 tons only, left the port, having on board only 18 emigrants, of which but five were adult males, a most unpromising outfit in way of emigrants.

The agent was accompanied by the Rev. John Hersey, as assistant or vice-agent, as the case might require; a man not more distinguished for his piety than his eccentricities, a veritable John the Baptist in food and clothing. Also, on board, were Messrs. Wilson and Wynkoop, missionaries of the American Board before mentioned.

Great relief was felt by the agent on getting clear of shore hindrances, many and various, of late experienced, but despair took the place of irritation in the first hour of departure. The *Ann* fairly *rolled* down the river, it could scarcely be called *sailing*. An abundance of what the agent had a small store, was necessary, viz., resignation. Brother Hersey resorted to prayer for a fair wind and plenty of it; and felicitated himself not a little when a stiff-nor'-wester set in and held on, not only down the bay, but entirely across the Atlantic. With ordinary variables, our settlement, ere the rains set in, would have been baulked to a certainty. But after passing through the trades, which we were fortunate in securing early, and arriving off St. Ann shoals, within the coast influences, we lay, not *becalmed*, for there were light breezes, but without other movement than a dead, heavy roll in the swells of the sea, literally *in the doldrums*. For days the old brig had not steerage-way, and barnacles an inch in length covered her unsheathed wooden hull. Independently of the pressing necessity of making Monrovia early, the situation was almost unendurable. No awning or deck-house, the sun pouring down upon the deck, the pitch frying out of the seams, all felt that the voyage must end there, and we suffer the fate of sundry cockroaches, brought occasionally on deck with fire-wood and ship stores, who failing to reach shadow or shelter, would keel over and die. The agent finally determined to "give up the ship" in another manner, and ordered a lateen sail-boat, he had prepared for some such emergency, overboard, and into her stowed a cask of water, a barrel of bread, cooked meat, dried fish, &c., with suitable ballast, compass, chart, quadrant, and firearms, and left the brig at *sea-anchor*, on one moonshiny evening about 9 o'clock. He took on board one sailor and two colonists, the former to handle sails and steer his trick alternately with the agent, and the latter to handle the oars in case of need. The Rev. Mr. Wilson also volunteered to accompany him. The light breeze soon fanned the little boat out of sight of the brig, and after midnight the land breeze gave it as much as the little craft would bear.

On the morning of the 3d day they made land, which, observation told the agent, was the east end of Sherbro Island. Running the coast along, some little before daylight, on the 4th, two vessels were sighted to seaward, which led the agent to know they were abreast of Gallinas, a most noted slave mart. They could not avoid speaking the vessels, and yet apprehensive that they might receive an unfriendly hail, ere the little boat could get along side. The fear was, they might be either British vessels of war, slave-trade catchers or slavers, in either case, the salute might not be words first, but a blow. The

agent felt in a condition not unlike that of Christian in passing the Cave of Pope and Pagan." To his great gratification however, instead of Pope or Pagan, the response to his hail was "Brig Mary of Philadelphia" and his old friend Sharp, master. They were just getting under way, and a copper of hot coffee ready. Never has any one on board that little sail-boat forgotten the smack of that pot of coffee. On the morning of the fifth day *out*, considering the brig a port of clearance, the boat reached Monrovia; and the agent at once beat up for recruits; having obtained the consent of his friend, Governor Pinney, then in charge of Liberia. Several public meetings were held at Monrovia and in the river settlements with the view of enlisting men; as the handful of emigrants on board the *Ann* afforded little material for an independent settlement. Acclimated, able-bodied adults must be secured, and that with promptitude. In a few days, some thirty volunteers were enrolled, ready for service. The old brig arrived in due time, and on the sixth day from the arrival of the agent, all were on board and ready for sea.

The agent was able to secure the services, as assistant palaver-man, of the Rev. Geo. R. McGill, a citizen of Monrovia, formerly from Maryland, and well acquainted with the several beach tribes down the coast. Mr. McGill had retained a Cape Palmas man who happened at Monrovia on his receiving notice of the intended expedition, and he proved of great service in the treaty of purchase. The agent also induced Mr. James M. Thompson, a highly educated colonist, to act as Secretary. The brig came to anchor at Bassa, where five more recruits were secured, amongst them Stephen Benson, father of Liberia's second President, and James Polk, both good men and true.

All the way from Bassa to Palmas, the natives seemed to have been apprised of the intended settlement, and begged the agent to try their towns instead. This was not lost on the Cape Palmas man on board, as the agent made special enquiries as to the advantages of different places in case the Palmas people should decline accepting the boon, or make extravagant demands as compensation.

On the evening of the 11th of February the brig came to anchor in the harbor or roadstead of Cape Palmas, much to the satisfaction of every person on board. The recruits from the upper settlements were specially charmed with the view of the town and country about, the harbor, river and bold projecting cape. A messenger, with a suitable dash, was despatched with the Palmas man to the king, advising him that the agent would visit him on the morrow on important business.

Early the next morning, the agent, with his *suite*, as respectable and imposing as he could make it, void of military trappings, Messrs. Wilson and Wynkoop volunteering, made a formal call on King Freeman, and in general terms, announced the object of his visit to the coast, Cape Palmas in particular. The business seemed to be well understood, as much lobbying, both on board ship and in the town, had been done during the night. It was determined that the palaver should be held the next day, the associate kings of the Grebo country, with the head men, to be present. The king, in the meantime, tendering the agent an escort up the river and about the coast that he might see the advantages the place afforded in springs, timber, the quality of land, &c.

The next morning, the grand palaver was held, the details, or a brief outline of which, would not be given, except to relieve the Africans from a too prevalent but erroneous impression, that a *palaver* is a mere pow-wow, without sense or order. No body of men, civilized or savage, conduct a council or assembly more decorously, or with more courtesy, than the Africans, where the matter in question is of general or paramount importance, as a war, international boundary, tribe rights or transfer of territory. The writer has taken part in many African palavers on the beach and in the more interior towns, but in most cases, order and decorum prevailed. He has been more than once reminded of one of the first palavers of which we have record: that of Abraham and the children of Heth—a palaver and record of which, never surpassed in dignity, tenderness and courtesy. This palaver of purchase was held at King Freeman's town, under a large tree in front of the palaver or town-house, not *in* it. Grand palavers are always held in the open air—smaller matters are discussed by the parties in the town-house; whilst inter-tribe questions are settled as expressed in Scripture, "at the gate of the city," or just outside the town, if no gates. The several Grebo kings took seats on one side of the square or open space, flanked by their head men, town governors, soldier kings, &c. Back of them were ranged the soldiers of the town, with their muskets between their knees, as they sat or squatted. Opposite this array, and clear on the other side, seats were provided for the agent and his party, consisting of Messrs. Hersey, Wilson, Wynkoop, McGill, and Thompson, the Secretary. Back of them were ranged most of the male adult colonists.

Business was opened by the advance of a tall, well made black man, covered by an under garment of white and outside by folds of blue salempore, crossing on the breast, leaving his right arm free for gesti-

culatation. Gracefully turning to his own people, he emphatically uttered, Bateo ! Bateo ! Bateo ! three times, each time responded to by the entire gathering, Batee ! — a call for attention and attention conceded. There was no floor on which to hear a pin drop, but silence reigned. The speaker, turning to the king, received a few low words, then to the other side, bowing low, “ King say, what you come for ? King want your full, true word.” It should be remarked that one of the kings present and who from first to last opened not his mouth, spoke and understood English perfectly—Baphro of Cavalla River. The agent was well aware to what an extent this formality might be extended, consuming days very likely, and at once went into a full detail of the intent of *his master*, as he termed the Society ; delivered in short sentences, that it should be correctly translated, making known as plainly as he could, the advantages to be derived by them from the settlement of white*, people amongst them. Then a response from the king through the interpreter—“ We hear all you say and we believe it. We know when white people go for country, he bring good—he make country rich—we will for you to come we country; no man speak against it, we all glad you come. But you say, you buy country, we no will for sell our town, our farm lots, our right for go sea, for fish or trade.” Response by the Agent: “ We no want your town, you shall keep all, nor the land you cut for farm. You keep your canoes, fish, trade with vessels as before. But when a ship comes, it comes to the Governor and no captain must land goods except to the port officer &c.” King’s response—“ Very well, you say you buy country—what you go pay for it ?” Agent—“ When two white men trade they make book, one writes what he go pay—the other what he wants. I make book, you tell what you want and then the Secretary read my book.”—Agreed. A consultation of the trademen ensues. They find little difficulty in making out an inventory of all the trade goods they ever heard of, but in quantity, their knowledge of arithmetical numeration failed to come up to their greed. The writer only remembers a few articles demanded, viz; 100 puncheons of rum, 100 hhds, of tobacco and 100 boxes of muskets, etc. Something like this was expected, but the amusement of the agent was so apparent to the interpreter, that he fairly broke down and not waiting for direction from the King, said : “ Now tell your book.” Before showing his hand the agent proceeded to parry their first demand, declaring that they all well knew that no rum would be used in the palaver or make any part of the purchase money; that if they insisted upon it, the palaver was at an end. This point was gained not briefly, as here set down, but temperance lectures are too common to be repeated.

* All civilized people are termed white by the native Africans.

The Secretary then read his book, but scarcely got down to the innumerable small articles of trade, ere a howl of derision from the mass of trademen broke up the *dignity* and *order* of the palaver, at least. It was long before order was restored, but "when the tumult dwindled to a calm," the interpreter declared the exclusion of rum, to which they had acceded, was bad enough, but the consideration offered too paltry, barely fitting a big ivory from the bush; but the King would hear a better offer. The agents' reply—"I can make no other offer, no more, no less. My master gave me these things to buy a home for these people; if you will take them, good! if not, I go my way." This was his closing remark, after fully stating the case; and his manner gave evidence of his earnest intent. More party discussion followed; at the close the agent was requested to order a reiteration by the Secretary of his inventory. They seemed to count and calculate how it could be divided between the three general kings; begging for some addition to supply special lacks: which, after apparent deliberation, he consented to make; as he was not supplied with rum and many articles used in traffic by the English and Germans, proposing as a substitute for what he could not supply, silver dollars, the exact and comparative value of which every trademan was familiar. Finally, as the sun declined westward, the palaver was set, as they term it, and the morrow fixed for making book, titles, etc.

As the question of compensation made for territory, on this first purchase, has caused some difficulty since; as near as the writer can recollect, the value of the goods paid was about one thousand dollars, at the rate merchandise was sold on the coast.

Early the next morning the parties again convened, and the treaty prepared in duplicate was duly executed: on the part of the Society by the agents, Hall and Hersey; and by the three several kings of the country, together with their head men—all witnessed by Messrs. Wilson, Wynkoop, McGill and Thompson.

Thus, in the space of three days, was this important transaction consummated—a thing unprecedented in Africa. But the days seemed weeks to the agent; as more than one tornado had occurred, giving warning of the near approach of the rainy season, before the setting in of which the emigrants *must be housed*. No sooner was the last signature affixed than order for action was given. The colonists were already on shore with implements for clearing away the bush for their first little town on the Cape—opening a *rolling* road from the beach leading thereto—all under direction of Mr. Hersey. The agent's business was on shipboard, first to deliver the consideration for the purchase; a matter requiring no little address and manage-

ment. The next thing, lumber must be landed for erecting a rough board shanty for the agents, and effects necessary for immediate use. The natives in the meantime hastily putting up wattled and thatched tenements for the few families now on board.

For a week or more, Cape Palmas resembled an ant hill for industry, by which time, one house was rendered fit for colonists, and a safe and comfortable shanty for the agents and for the storage of goods, provisions for immediate use, munitions for defense, mechanical tools, &c. On the memorable 22d, formal possession was taken of the Cape, with due religious ceremonies, and the first night on shore followed, much to the relief of the women and children, who had rolled for some three months in the old tub *Ann*. The brig was despatched to Monrovia and Bassa for the families and effects of the volunteers.

This brings our tale to its close—the founding of the settlement at Cape Palmas, with the causes leading thereto. Two questions may be supposed to arise in the minds of all interested: Has it been a success, or met the hopes and anticipations of its projectors and founders? The answer must be in the negative. Again: Has it proved a failure? and again, a negative. How far it falls short of *success* it is impossible to say, so various were the views of those who gave it birth, and the mark of success so indefinite. In like manner the estimate of failure.

But who shall stamp it a failure, when for half a century, and for most of that period unaided by foreign influence, it has maintained a well organized civil government amidst surrounding barbarism; a Christian church, pure and simple in defiance of universal, inherited fetishism; regulated commerce, exhibited in practice the various mechanical arts, improved system of agriculture and all that civilization implies? Cape Palmas, instead of merely making a change of coast line to passing vessels, designates a port of entry, its river not merely a level landing on a bush-covered sand beach, but wharves and warehouses flank its borders. On the Cape itself, dwellings of wood and stone and churches and school-houses supply the place of conical thatch and wattled huts, and squads of naked natives squatting on their hams, in company with beeves and goats, as the writer first saw it. On the head of the cliff, westward and seaward, stands the tall column of the lighthouse, whose rays flash by night over the entire track of ships rounding the Cape, emblematic of the moral rays of the colony spreading inland. Who shall declare this little colony a failure?

On the contrary, may we not be warranted in prophesying that in the lapse of a second half century, another celebration will be held

on that Cape, in which, not only more distant native tribes may be represented, striking hands with civilization, but representatives of civilized colonies of European origin, now in embryo, will join in to learn the true signification LIBERIA, imbibing their first lessons in republicanism, civil rights, trial by jury, and the ballot, as yet unknown elsewhere on that vast Continent, and may we not look upon Cape Palmas as the Shiloh for the stated gatherings of the peoples?

INAUGURAL ADDRESS OF PRESIDENT JOHNSON.*

Fellow Citizens of the Senate and House of Representatives :—

In considering man, either in the individual or social state, we find a threefold division of his duty : his duty to himself, his duty to those of his own race and country, and his duty to those of other countries and races. In whatever circumstances man may be placed, it is only under well-organized and well-established government that he can properly discharge these duties. It is only in this way that proper protection and security for life and property can be afforded, industry stimulated, and virtue and vice receive their appropriate rewards and punishments. It is only in this way that man can attain to that highest state of happiness which he was destined to enjoy on earth.

However great may be the change which government and society appear to make in the state of nature, the civil state does not properly subvert all natural society, or destroy the essential relations which exist between men, or between God and man. Government is so far from subverting this first order that it has been established rather with a view to give it a new degree of force and consistency. It was intended to enable us the better to discharge the duties prescribed by natural laws, and to attain more certainly the end for which we were created. Then, again, it is only in congenial climes, where the bounds of its habitation are appointed to each race and people, that each people and race can best work out its destiny on its own line of development.

These are the principles underlying the founding of this Republic. However complete might have been the happiness which a change in the condition of our race in other lands might have effected ; however dark and gloomy the ignorance and superstition that enveloped this Continent ; however great the obstacles that met the

* Delivered before the Legislature of Liberia, in joint convention at Monrovia, January 7, 1884.

pioneers of Liberia ; however enticing the scenes of other lands,—stern duty and necessity, and the unalterable fixedness of natural law, all pointed to the fact, that there must be laid here, on this Continent, the foundations of a great Negro State, that would, in all coming time, be the hope of the race and the admiration of the world. And however gloomy and foreboding may be the clouds that sometimes overcast our sky ; however silver-toned may be the siren-voice of ease and comfort that would lull us to sleep and close our eyes upon the arduous task set before us, or that would draw us away from the path of duty to bask in the sunshine of pleasure, the stern, trumpet-voice of duty, in tones louder and clearer than before, still urges us on to labor and to toil.

The fathers, having organized the Government, have passed away. Time after time, each Chief Magistrate, having discharged his duty in the exalted position to which he had been called, has gone to the retirement of private life, or to labor and reward in a higher and an eternal sphere. To-day, I stand before you, called by the united voice of my fellow-citizens, to whose earnest, patriotic appeals I could no longer turn a deaf ear. I come to take upon me a responsibility from which many a one greater than myself might reasonably shrink. I come to assume the reins of Government at a time that calls for all the industry, all the integrity, all the patriotism, which this nation possesses and all the sacrifices of which this nation is capable. In short, I come to assist you in guiding the destinies of the nation at one of the most critical periods in our history.

In assuming the momentous responsibility which to-day my fellow-citizen impose upon me, I would be unworthy of your favor did I not repeat, in most earnest tones, the thanks I have expressed on other occasions, for the implicit confidence reposed in me. A son of the soil, a citizen of this country, to which I owe my being and my growth, it is unnecessary that I should assure you, that my patriotism shall remain undiminished, and that I shall devote all my powers to the upbuilding of the State.

To quote, however, the language of a celebrated authority :—"It is a great mistake to imagine that the knowledge of Government is an easy affair ; on the contrary, nothing is more difficult, if rulers would discharge their duty. Whatever talent or genius they may have received from nature, this is an employment that requires the whole man. The general rules of governing are few in number ; but the difficulty is to make a just application of them to times and circumstances ; and this demands the greatest efforts of diligence and human prudence."

It is not unreasonable, therefore, that I should expect, on all occasions, your hearty co-operation in all measures tending to the public

welfare. Indeed, in some of the measures that ought to be set on foot that co-operation has already been promised by all parties in the Republic, and promised, I believe, in all sincerity.

Before proceeding further, I consider it necessary to premise, that a great mistake has frequently been committed by us. There is often manifested in our national councils, an impatience that should by no means be one of the qualities of those who have to provide for the stability of the State. In consequence of this, measures of the greatest advantage, but whose benefits are not to be fully realized till after the lapse of some years, are hastily changed or set aside, and others that are objectionable, or at least of doubtful importance, substituted. Now, this is at variance with the stability and the progress of nations. With regard to matters of vital importance, Governments should have a settled policy, in accordance with which they should labor ploddingly, year after year, generation after generation. It is true, in some cases, a change in the circumstances and demands of the age calls for a corresponding variation in the policy. But there are other cases in which no change will be required for centuries.

In accordance with this view, I consider it my duty to point out what measures for good have already been adopted, and advise that these be allowed to remain; and at the same time to recommend what policy the circumstances of the times demand.

FOREIGN RELATIONS. And first, as respects our duty to others, we should assiduously cultivate those feelings of friendship which subsist between the Republic and foreign nations. In assuming the position of an independent State, the fathers asked that the nations of Christendom would extend to them that comity which marks the friendly intercourse of civilized and independent communities. And since that comity has been so generally and, with rare exceptions, so constantly exhibited, our duty in this respect is clearly defined. On our part, every thing reasonable and consistent with national honor should be done, to show appreciation of those friendly feelings which foreign nations entertain toward us.

There are two extreme views held with regard to our duty to foreigners. One is entertained by a class who, discouraged by the obstacles that meet us at almost every step, become faint-hearted, and would relinquish all efforts, stifle all national aspirations, and fall under the control and protection of some greater power, that would be able to contend with those obstacles more successfully. The other view is held by a class who, regarding, perhaps, only their own rights, pay no attention to the rights of others. These probably, would deny to foreigners even those natural and inalienable rights which the citizens or subjects of one nation possess within the domain of another.

Our way lies in a middle course. While we should strive, without ceasing, to build here a great Negro State, at all times and under all circumstances, whether our progress be fast or slow, whether with bright prospects or gloomy forebodings, whether with encouragement or fierce opposition, we should never forget that there are rights on our soil possessed by citizens and subjects of other nations; that there is a comity due also to them; and that these rights and this comity we should scrupulously respect.

It is the duty of each nation to contribute its quota to the world's well-being; and this is effected in a great measure by the exchange of products,—products of science and art, of capital and skill. One nation depends upon the capital and skill of another for important internal improvements. And while, in all measures of the kind, we should endeavor to procure for the country a reasonable share of the profits or advantages, we could not expect that that share would, in the beginning, be as great as it would be in the case of a nation less dependent on the capital and skill of others.

TRADE AND COMMERCE. There should be increased facilities for trade. Along the coast, a port of entry and delivery at each extreme of the Republic, and a few more at intermediate points would afford considerable encouragement to trade. This should be done not only with a view to increasing the revenue, but also in justice to the native tribes, some of whom are remote from centres of trade and do not receive the commercial advantages promised by us on obtaining from them the sovereignty of the country. Besides the facilities for trading alluded to, measures should be adopted, as soon as possible, for the protection and security of trade; for it is only when trade is secure that it thrives at a natural and profitable rate.

The vast resources of the interior trade are scarcely touched. I am sure I shall have your co-operation, from time to time, in devising such measures as will develop that industry. Tribal wars greatly obstruct trade; and unreasonable tribal exactions greatly hinder the course of commerce. We should endeavor, at first by all peaceful means, to remove the obstructions. However unreasonable these exactions and hindrances may seem, so far as the tribes beyond our jurisdiction are concerned, there is underlying all these a fundamental principle of international law and right. It is the principle that every nation has a right to prescribe the conditions of intercourse, or of ingress and egress into and beyond its borders. In this case, the Government would doubtless find it profitable to subsidize, here and there, some powerful chief. And even within our borders, in sections that have not yet come within the full influence of the laws of the Republic, small subsidies would be

preferable to military expeditions;—the Government in the mean time putting itself in a condition to enforce any treaties that may be negotiated for this purpose.

In developing commerce, there is a policy that might be adopted tending to encourage certain industries in the country. For everything should be done to discourage the idea, that we should be unnecessarily dependent on foreign productions. And when there are manufactures initiated in the country, every reasonable encouragement should be given to the development of them. To be brief, there are a few articles that can be readily produced, and ought to be produced in the country. These articles, when imported from abroad, should have a heavier tax upon them than other articles. But no measure of protection should be so devised as to defeat its own object. The tax should not be so heavy as to leave consumers entirely at the mercy of unreasonable producers. The object sought to be accomplished, is to encourage home industry, and give home producers a fair chance of competing with foreign producers. In this and in all other matters of impost, we should not lose sight of that universal principle of trade, that it is the consumers who pay expenses; and that any unreasonable charges only burden the masses of the people unnecessarily.

But, in promoting the interests of trade and commerce, we should allow no obstacles to be placed in our way to preserving the manhood of the country. The land will fare ill, if men decay while wealth grows. It is the testimony of the oldest and most experienced, that there has been deterioration in the tribes along the coast, and that this deterioration is to be attributed to the unlimited use of alcoholic drinks. The law enacted last year with a view to check the importation of ardent spirits, did not have its full effect, owing partly to its having been anticipated, and partly to some of its provisions not having been clearly defined. But I am of opinion that that law should not be repealed. The Quarterly Court at Grand Bassa appears to have more correctly interpreted the intention of the law as to the obtaining of licenses, than has been done in some other directions.

I am informed, also, that in some instances large quantities of wine and other liquors containing a considerable percentage of alcohol have been imported independently of the provisions of this law. On this head, however, no additional legislation is required. There is needed only a legitimate interpretation of the provisions of the law concerning the nature of these liquors.

Notwithstanding the hitherto almost unlimited use of alcoholic drinks, we have still, in our aboriginal tribes, the requisite quality of bone and muscle, and intellect, to build up our national superstructure

and it is our imperative duty to see that this quality does not suffer further deterioration.

FINANCES. Thanks to the improvement of the past year, the finances of the country are in a better condition than they have been for years. The gradual retirement from circulation of a portion of the currency was a measure good in itself; but it should have been accompanied with retrenchment in some directions. But, considering the large amount of currency thus retired, considering also that the currency is still received for a large portion of the duties, it is matter of surprise that it is still discounted. And this clearly shows, that the currency is not yet governed by the law of supply and demand as, up to a recent period, we supposed would have been the case. This is probably owing, in part, to the force of the old habit of discounting the currency; in part, to the eagerness of the citizens, in whose eyes their necessities are often magnified; and, in part, to the fear of holders, that there will be no settled policy with regard to the currency, thereby begetting a feeling of insecurity. Sometimes, too, it is owing to the leniency of collecting officers who wait, in some cases, unreasonably long for importers to dispose of their refuse importations for currency at an enormous profit.

To remedy this evil, I do not recommend a repudiation of the currency still in the hands of citizens and foreigners. In dealing with financial and all other questions, strict regard should be paid to the rights of others as well as to our own. Not only is this our duty, but it is only in this way that national honor can be sustained, and confidence in the faith of the Government inspired in the breasts of citizens and foreigners.

The Government can be relieved without violating any of its obligations. The principle of retiring the currency should be continued. There might be some increase in the proportion of imports paying gold duties. And I am of opinion, that in a short time, either there would be all gold in circulation, or the amount of currency afloat would be of gold value.

I consider it right to suggest, on this head, that with our present limited business, and the tendencies above alluded to, the notes should be withdrawn from circulation until there remains only a small quantity, which could be easily redeemed. Gold, having intrinsic value, cannot be depreciated. Notes are only representatives of value. They have somewhat to recommend them on account of their convenience; but it must be quite understood that they are only conveniences, and should circulate only in such quantities as will enable them to be easily exchanged for gold when desired.

But the necessity of retrenchment in this case is as great as it was last year. For without it, the increase in debt of the nation, resulting from the inability of the Government to use all the money collected, would counterbalance the benefits derived from the gold circulation.

In connection with this subject, I consider it proper to suggest, that the law requiring payments in a certain proportion of gold and currency be so altered as to allow the Treasury to regulate the proportion by the amount of currency received. For it must be seen, that when, in consequence of retiring the currency, the gold receipts of the treasury shall have exceeded the currency receipts, the operations of the Government will be retarded, if the proportion to be paid out remains as at present fixed by law.

But it would be a fallacy to conclude that the Government can be supported by only one source of revenue—the duties on imports and exports. There should be an honest and assiduous collection not only of import and export duties, but also of property and poll tax, military fines, licenses, and all other internal revenue.

I am of opinion, however, that the small percentage allowed for the collection of internal revenue is not sufficient for the purpose. I believe, in nearly all governments, it costs more to effect this object than we have been willing to allow. And considering the sparseness of the civilized population and the inadequate traveling facilities, the percentage ought to be increased, to insure an honest collection. All collectors of internal revenue should be required to give receipts in duplicate for money paid to them. One of these receipts should be deposited by the tax payer with a magistrate of the settlement, or some other designated officer, who also should receive a small percentage, and who should forward these duplicate receipts to the Treasury Department, in order that they may be compared with the accounts of the collectors. Without some such provision, the Government would not know if the taxes were correctly reported.

The collection of taxes among important native tribes might be assigned to the chiefs, who should receive a percentage of the taxes collected.

AGRICULTURE. In a country like ours, agriculture must always be the chief industry and it should always be encouraged. I am of opinion that the premiums given to encourage the production of certain articles, should have been bestowed upon the natives. Besides largely increasing the products of the country, this measure would probably have induced them to have more settled abodes, enabling them to be more readily incorporated into townships, thus giving them greater facilities for enjoying the privileges of citizenship.

First among the internal improvements tending to encourage the agriculture of the country, there should be durable bridges, sufficiently strong for cart-roads, beginning with the settlements remote from the rivers, and which, in the transportation of their products to market, are deprived of water-courses, but nevertheless, are compelled to cross the streams which run athwart their way, and gradually extending them year by year, until all needed bridges shall have been built. This course would be safer, more economical, and more promotive of the industry of the country than the one now pursued of wasting money on structures that are no bridges at all, so far as their practical use is concerned.

NATIVE TRIBES. The government and advancement of the native tribes are subjects of vast importance. Their wars should be discouraged. They should have some share in governing the country under the laws of the Republic, and they should contribute, in a measure, to the support of the Government. To accomplish these objects, I am of opinion, that reasonable subsidies should be granted to important native chiefs, who are really capable of governing. Among the well-organized native tribes, from which the Government expects to derive taxes, the collection of the taxes might be assigned to the chiefs, who would receive a certain percentage of the amount so collected, as I have already suggested in another connection.

In some sections predatory wars are frequent. One of the means of putting an end to this state of things, where the clans or tribes are not large or important, is to lay off such disturbed districts into sections, and appoint some capable chief ruler, holding him responsible for good order, and, when necessary, rendering him reasonable assistance for this purpose.

Another frequent cause disturbing the peace of the country is the wars that often break out on the death of a chief. At such times, much would be gained by the Government assisting to indicate and establish the succession. A decided stand taken once or twice in such cases, I am of opinion, would save much future trouble.

The principle of having native chiefs referees or delegates to the Legislature is good : but it should not be applied too generally, so as to increase the number to an unreasonable and unprofitable extent ; for the number of tribes and chiefs is legion, and the Government, with its present resources, could not defray the expenses of so large a number.

In the case of large and important sea-coast tribes, or tribes not too remote from the centres of Government, certain chiefs might be constituted members of the Superintendents' councils; their know-

ledge and experience of the customs, the aspirations, and the needs of the tribes they govern, would doubtless be of much assistance.

It is our duty, also, to establish schools among the tribes as fast as the finances will justify. Indeed, this is one of the principal conditions on which we obtained from them the sovereignty of the country.

From the nature of things, certain tribes, on account of their superior intelligence and enterprise, take precedence of others. But this should not be encouraged so far as to ignore the indisputable rights of other tribes, who, although they may not boast of superior intelligence, are, nevertheless, populous, industrious and peaceable.

EDUCATION. The educational interests of the country deserve our most careful attention. Their importance has so often been discussed in State papers and conceded by all right-minded persons, that I need not dwell on it. The amount for schools could be increased by cutting of some unnecessary expenses in other directions. While it cannot be supposed that the most efficient teachers can be procured for the small salaries which the Government will be compelled to pay for a long time to come, owing to the large number of teachers to be employed in proportion to the population, and this again owing to the scattered state of the people, yet, I believe that, if the schools are properly superintended, and teachers are appointed for the good of the country and not for political patronage, or other illegitimate reasons, much more good can be accomplished than has been done, even with the small salaries at our command.

IMMIGRATION. Events in America and in the islands of the sea are fast disappointing the hopes of our brothers there as to a glorious future for our race in other lands. The time is not far distant, when thousands who never before dreamed of emigration, will be turning their longing eyes to the fatherland. While we have in our Aborigines a population sufficient, in point of numbers, for all the wants of this nation, still there will be needed, to some extent and for some time to come, that civilization and Christianity possessed by our brothers in other lands, to give this native element its proper direction, consistency and force. It will therefore become our duty, as soon as the finances of our country will justify it, to assist in promoting the immigration into the Republic of Christianized Negroes from other lands.

JUDICIARY. Touching the Judiciary, it is my purpose on this occasion, to allude to only one matter : it is the unwarrantable increase of the number of magistrates and constables throughout the Republic. While everything in our power should be done to further the ends of justice, the evil of which I am complaining has a contrary ef-

fect. It sometimes causes unlawful imposition on the peaceful citizens of the Republic, and an ignoring of the rights of native tribes. It involves the country in an expense altogether unnecessary, requiring large sums for the payment of mileage; and it is a fertile source of litigation often engendered and encouraged for the sake of obtaining fees. Causes that should by no means be entertained, are tried only to immerse the Government in expenses; and this evil has grown to such an extent, that in purely civil cases, magistrates have been known to rule the Government to costs.

If important officers of high grade are allowed to transmit their reports in writing to the heads of Departments, I see no reason why constables also may not generally transmit written reports, and thus save the Government an expense in mileage, which it should not be compelled to undergo, except in necessary cases. No further legislation, however, is required as to the number of magistrates and constables, the appointing power being sufficient to check this evil. I allude to it only to call your attention to a state of things which should no longer be encouraged.

MILITARY. I am opposed to war; and I think it should be resorted to only in cases of absolute necessity. Nations can best work out their destiny when in a settled state of peace. In order, however, to insure a state of peace, it is necessary to secure a condition of strength. The better will the majesty of the law be respected and the less frequent will be the tumults throughout the tribes, the more ready the Government will be to enforce right and maintain order. In view, also, of the prospect of the establishment of new settlements, to protect which the Government should be always ready, it is of the utmost importance that the army should be placed on a suitable footing. The efficient condition of this department of the public service will inspire throughout the land a feeling of security, without which the industries of the country will not be pushed to their legitimate extent. The policy of the Government, therefore, will be to place the army in such a condition as will insure the peace of the country. And I shall, from time to time, ask your assistance in such measures as will bring about this result.

ENGLISH LOAN. The Loan of 1871 is the greatest financial burden that presses on the country. The amount is enormous for a Government of our present limited resources. And when it is considered that the Republic enjoyed the benefit of only a small portion of the proceeds of that Loan, the weight is felt proportionately more. It is for the wisdom of the country to devise means for discharging a debt which will be due in a short time.

Considering that only a small portion of the Loan was received by the country; considering, also the enormous law expenses defrayed by the Republic, it would be fair to expect that a compromise might be effected as to the time of payment and rate of interest, were the bonds held by those at whose door the fault lies,—as many were held in the beginning. But the probability is that the bonds have long since passed into innocent hands.

Even with retrenchment and a slight increase of the revenue, the Loan would be paid very slowly. I am informed that the concession of a monopoly has been asked to pay this debt. Monopolies should be cautiously approached, and should be resorted to only under the greatest necessity. For a pressing need like this, a monopoly might be granted on proper conditions. But in granting any monopoly for any of the products or resources of the country, one important principle should be kept in view: the obligation of the grantee should be unconditional. As the concessionaire would enjoy all the benefits and profits, however great, so he should assume all risks of deficiency, and not throw upon the Government the risk of a loss that might arise from his indifference or lack of skill and enterprise.

Concessions for exporting timber, arrangements for developing mineral resources, leases of large tracts of land for agricultural purposes, on more liberal terms than heretofore, especially if the concessionaires bring into the country civilized Negro immigrants to assist in working these lands,—some or all of these, with whatever may be saved from the revenue by economy, would, in time, go far towards extinguishing the debt, if indeed, they did not altogether put an end to it.

NORTH-WEST AND SOUTH-EAST BOUNDARIES. To-day we come into power with a public domain lessened in extent. But this fact should by no means discourage us: it should rather inspire us with new zeal for increased effort. We should firmly establish and consolidate what remains, and then push on our work vigorously into the interior, where we shall be more than compensated for what we have lost on the coast.

In my opinion, the first and principal measure to be adopted for this purpose, is the establishment of settlements at the north-western and south-eastern boundaries of the Republic. The latter should be first undertaken. The tribes to the south-east appear to be manifesting a more friendly and loyal disposition than has been the case for a long time. And I see in this fact a providential opening for our work in that direction which should no longer be delayed, lest greater evils come upon us than have already befallen the Republic. A settlement should be established immediately at the mouth of the San Pedro

river, and a port opened for domestic and foreign trade. Besides, treaties of friendship and, when practicable, of alliance should be negotiated with adjoining native states.

A settlement at our north-west boundary should be undertaken as soon after the first as may be practicable. For, judging from events at present transpiring in that direction, and from the tendency of ill disposed traders to cross the boundary at all points into our recognized territory for unlawful purposes, sometimes even inciting the natives to rebellion, I have to inform you that I have already been promised assistance in this important matter. The Parent Society (The American Colonization), that is always watching over our interests and extending timely aid, has expressed its readiness to co-operate with us in this measure and in any way possible in strengthening the Republic. In view of the co-operation which has already been promised by the Legislature, and anticipating your action, I have already transmitted an acknowledgment and acceptance, which your subsequent action will render more authoritative than at the time I had the power to make it.

RETRENCHMENT. It will be seen at a glance that some of the measures discussed should be undertaken immediately. Considering that the honor of the nation is at stake, and that there are obligations that must be discharged toward both citizens and foreigners; considering, also, that, in order to insure the very safety of the State, to say nothing of its advancement, there are enterprises that should no longer be delayed,—you will agree with me that there should be a curtailment of all unnecessary expenses.

But in this matter of retrenchment I desire to be clearly understood. In avoiding one extreme, I do not desire to rush to the opposite extreme. There are salaries that ought not to be reduced. Indeed, no salaries should be rated so low as to prevent the Government from procuring the services of suitable men, especially for important positions. The country is to lose nothing. The money saved on one hand is to be employed in a more necessary and important direction. Vital interests are to be promoted, the honor of the nation sustained by paying our debts as fast as we can, and confidence inspired in the breasts of both citizens and foreigners.

Economy being one of those virtues that should be encouraged, it is incumbent on the rulers of the land to set an example in this, as well as in other respects. In vain may we preach economy to the people, if we ourselves indulge in extravagance. I am fully aware, that as a country grows in wealth, and in the practice of those virtues that enoble and dignify man, there is afforded scope for those elegancies

and refinements that impart grace to man. But, at present, we need a slight mixture, in our economy, of Spartan simplicity. Let us practice industry and economy. Let us first lay deep the foundations for a permanent prosperity, and the ornaments and decorations of the superstructure will appear in due time.

GENTLEMEN OF THE SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, —I have laid before you nothing mysterious and inexplicable. I have only endeavored to apply to our peculiar circumstances some of those fundamental principles on which national policy should be based. The measures alluded to will require the passage of only a few laws. I consider it unnecessary to suggest more on the present occasion. I shall, with you, from time to time, observe closely the course of events, and endeavor to indicate what new measures the times may demand.

Having, during my political career, been among the first to censure any evil existing in the body politic, it might be supposed by those inexperienced in Governmental affairs and forgetful of the frailty of human nature, that I expect to make this a perfect administration. But I assure you, that no such vain idea is conceived in my mind; and that I shall be as zealous in detecting and, with your assistance, removing any evil that may exist in my administration, as I have been in the case of others.

The fact that I am associated with a distinguished colleague of long experience in the public service, furnishes an additional reason why I should hope for success.

Before concluding, I consider it my imperative duty to ask your aid in teaching the lesson of patience. The growth of nations is slow, as is the case with all things that are to last a long time. Even with an individual human being, whose lifetime is comparatively short, there is a long and patient laboring and expecting of results. How much more necessary is this in the case of nations that are to endure for ages, and whose foundation stones and, indeed, the whole superstructure, must be patiently and carefully laid.

And I call upon you to assist me in teaching another important lesson. It is only an industrious and thriving people that can constitute a prosperous Government. If, instead of devoting their energies to the improvement of their condition in proper and legitimate spheres, an unreasonably large proportion of the people be encouraged to look to the Government for support, it requires no prophet to foretell the sad consequences.

Fellow Citizens. We have a most interesting country, of vast resources, a genial climate, a numerous population—a people who,

although now sometimes much oppressed and groping much in darkness, were terrible in the beginning, and enlightened in all the ways of science and art; and who, with proper guidance, will prove adequate to all the wants of this nation.

In the language of our memorable Declaration of Independence: "Liberia is already the happy home of thousands * * * and if left unmolested to go on with her natural spontaneous growth; if her movements be left free from the paralyzing intrigues of jealous ambition and unscrupulous avarice, she will throw open a wider and a wider door for thousands who are now looking with an anxious eye for some land of rest."

To-day, we have before us the grand and pleasing spectacle of such a gathering of the people as has never before been witnessed in our history. From all parts of the land, from north and south, from east and west, the great and the small, hoary age and verdant youth, matron and maid, even prattling infancy, assemble to do honor to their nation and, by their rejoicing, signify their hope of a glorious future.

Son of the soil as I am,—a fact of which all seem proud—I cannot take to myself so much honor as my fellow citizens appear to bestow upon me to-day. No, gentlemen, this rejoicing, this honor, has a grander significance, a more exalted object. It points unmistakably to the fact, that, despite all the obstacles in our path, despite the dangers that threaten us, despite our littleness and weakness, this people love this land they call their own, next after their God, above all things.

We should not disappoint hopes naturally and reasonably raised. We should not, by any unpatriotic and unrighteous act of ours, compel this people to cast away their confidence.

Let us not go back upon the work begun with so much toil and suffering; but, invoking the blessing of our supreme and eternal Father, let us to-day give the command, onward! onward! forever onward and upward!

HILARY R. W. JOHNSON,

Monrovia, January 7, 1884.

From the New York Observer.

THE CONGO QUESTION.

BY L. A. MAYNARD.

It will be remembered that President Arthur, in his last Message to Congress, suggested that measures be taken to protect our interests in the Congo region in Africa, in common with those of other nations,

and that recognition be accorded to Stanley and the Association he represents, in their work of suppressing the slave trade in that country. In accordance with this suggestion, the Senate has recently passed a resolution concurring in the views expressed by the President, and formally recognizing the flag of the African International Association. The justice and the importance of this action will be apparent when the aims and character of the organization referred to are understood.

Among the various societies that have been formed in years past for the promotion of civilization in the interior of Africa, few have been more broadly and practically philanthropic, and none have achieved such wide spread and beneficent results in a brief time as the African International Association, organized at Brussels, Belgium, in September, 1876, and confirmed in its action by a Congress at the same place in the following year, at which representatives from the United States, England and other leading nations were present. King Leopold, of Belgium, was made its President, in his private, not in his sovereign capacity. The stated objects of the Association are of a purely international and philanthropic character. It proposes to form stations throughout the central portion of the African Continent as centres of civilizing influence and as the *nuclei* of future free States, which shall ultimately be left to elect their own rulers and provide for their own maintenance. In the meantime the work of education, Christianization and material development will go on under the auspices of the Association. The traders as well as the missionaries and travelers of all nations, having legitimate objects in view, are welcomed by the Association and afforded equal rights, advantages and protection.

The work already accomplished by the Association has been very great. It has acquired possession, by treaty or purchase from the native chiefs, of a large tract of territory in the Congo valley and its branches, extending over two thousand miles of river bank, containing many hundreds of thousands of people, and has established twenty-five stations under the flag of the Association—a banner with a blue field and a golden star in the centre. The authority of the Association is generally recognized by the natives and its rights respected. Under its auspices commerce has greatly revived, the slave trade has sensibly diminished, and numerous missionary organizations have been established with success.

But now that under the wise and efficient methods of the Association this portion of Africa is assuming a commercial and general importance, the jealousies and conflicting interests of certain civilized nations seem likely to embarrass further progress, and to partially, if not wholly, defeat the ulterior objects of the movement itself.

Portugal asserts her claim to the region around the mouth of the Congo and commanding the entrance to the interior. This claim is based on a discovery made by Diego Cam, a Portuguese, about the year 1484. The discovery was followed by a nominal possession, and Christianity was established by the Jesuits as the national religion. But through the duplicity, ignorance and cruelty of the Portuguese settlers no substantial benefits followed, either to the natives or to the nation claiming possession. The Portuguese gradually withdrew southward into Angola and Benguela, and it was not until recent years that they asserted any authority over the region north of the Ambriz river. But a treaty has just been concluded between England and Portugal which recognizes the sovereignty of the latter over that part of the West Coast of Africa situated between 8 deg. and 5 deg. 11 min. of south latitude, including the region around the mouth of the Congo. The terms of the treaty seem fair enough on their face. Freedom of trade, navigation, settlement and religion are guaranteed to citizens of all nations, within the limits mentioned, and solemn pledges are given to suppress the slave trade not only in the Congo country, but in all other Portuguese possessions in Africa.

This compact, however, seems to create great dissatisfaction in all quarters. A vigorous protest has been made against it by various commercial bodies in Great Britain, which claims that the rule of the Portuguese is corrupt and inefficient, that their pledges will not be kept, and that, their control will greatly retard if not entirely defeat the movement for the development of the interior. It is asserted, on good authority that domestic slavery exists in the African colonies of Portugal, and that slaves are shipped every month at her port of Catumbella to labor and to die at St. Thomas on the line. Opposition to the treaty has also arisen in Holland on account of the interests which the Dutch have on the South African coast; and France comes forward with her claims and insists that there shall be a tripartite treaty, and that France shall be represented in the Congo commission with Portugal and England. On the other hand, a certain faction at Lisbon is dissatisfied, asserting that Portugal has conceded too much, and that she has placed herself in a ruinous and humiliating position before England. The formal recognition by our Government of the International Association may also be constructed as a protest against the action of England in assuming to herself the protectorate of a territory over which she has no stronger claims than any other civilized country.

It is difficult to see how any material advantages to the region in question can result from this coalition. The great object of every

movement in that country at present is, or ought to be, to suppress the slave traffic, to elevate the native tribes, and promote the general interests of civilization. This is precisely the work being done by the International Association, and in a far more vigorous manner than ever before. The question is, why not allow it to pursue this grand work unembarrassed by the selfish interests of any nation?

OUR LIBERIA CORRESPONDENCE.

You will, no doubt, have seen certain statements in the *Philadelphia Times*, May 17, 1884, purporting to be the result of an interview with Rev. Daniel Ware, of Liberia, by a reporter of that paper. I am sure that the reporter must have misunderstood what he heard from Mr. Ware. Our relations with the British Government have not been seriously interrupted by the north-western boundary discussion. The Senate of Liberia has authorized the President to sign a convention with England fixing the north-western boundary of the Republic at the south bank of the Mannah river. This will soon be done, and this question will be at rest forever. We do not apprehend any serious difficulty from our unfortunate loan of 1871, not 1869, as Mr. Ware is reported to have said. It was a commercial, not a political or diplomatic transaction.

On the 18th February last, Admiral Salmons, in command of H. M. West African squadron, arrived in the harbor of Monrovia in the flagship *Boadicea*, charged by H. M. to give assurance of the friendly feelings which continue to animate H. M. Government toward the Republic.

On the 22d of March, the Hon. W. M. Davis, Secretary of State of Liberia, arrived in Sierra Leone on a visit for his health, and was courteously received by His Excellency, Arthur Elibank Havelock, C. M. G., Governor of Sierra Leone, and H. M. Consul to Liberia.

Soon after the departure of H. M. ship, "*Boadicea*," the Dutch corvette "*Tromp*," Commander Bosck, arrived, bringing the compliments of H. M. the King of the Netherlands, to the President of Liberia.

The Lone Star of Liberia is not threatened with extinction, through the ill will of any foreign Power. Our commercial intercourse with foreigners is rapidly on the increase. The German, Dutch and Belgium houses here are enlarging their enterprise. The Germans have a fleet of steamers in their trade. As I write there is a German steamer in the harbor landing coals for the German business. They have made Monrovia a coal depot, which will attract other

steamers. In spite of the serious drawbacks we suffer from our laws restricting the intercourse of foreigners with us, yet there is a steady growth.

It is probable that immigration will be diverted for the present from Brewerville to Cape Palmas with a view of securing our southeastern frontiers against foreign aggressions and complications. We sincerely hope that the friends of Liberia in America will aid the Republic in strengthening itself in that quarter.

The settlement of Brewerville is one of the most important in the Republic. As an outlet for interior traffic it is second to none, and must become, when our Government turns its attention vigorously to the development of the region east of us, an important center. Indeed, the Mahommedan traders fixed upon this locality more than fifty years ago as an outlet for trade. The Mahommedan trading village at Vonswah is only a few minutes' walk from Brewerville. What that settlement most needs now are labor-saving implements. In educational matters Brewerville is gradually progressing, though schools of a higher grade than at present exist are becoming a necessity. As the settlement stretches itself towards the interior by the accession of immigrants, additional elementary schools are needed.

President Blyden has undertaken to write the history of Liberia, in short chapters, for schools and the general public, as the basis of a large book for reference. If he succeeds in completing this work, I venture to say that it will be a valuable contribution to African and Colonization literature.

The emigrants by bark "Monrovia" arrived on the morning of June 5th, in good spirits, and they went up the St. Paul's river to Brewerville the same day, accompanied by a goodly portion of their baggage. The number was increased by one on the voyage; the mother and infant, the latter being nine days old at the time of landing here, are doing well.

LETTER FROM MR. HENRY TAYLOE.

New York, August, 1884.

DEAR SIR:—Arthington was founded in 1869 by Alonzo Hoggard, aided by a goodly company of religious people from Bertie Co., N. C. It is situated 25 miles up the St. Paul's river from Monrovia, the capital of Liberia. These were succeeded in 1870, by John Roulhac with a considerably larger party of emigrants. In 1871 Jefferson Bracewell and Elias Hill located there with a great increase of numbers. They were followed in 1872 by Aaron Miller and others.

The settlers under Alonzo Hoggard, after receiving their apportionment of land, given to each individual family, proceeded to clear it and to build log houses. They soon planted potatoes, cassada—a kind of root used for bread, eddoes, yams, and garden vegetables of every description. Nor was it long before they obtained an abundant harvest. The same success attended the settlers under Roulhac, Bracewell, Hill and Miller.

The aspect of Arthington is that of a small plateau containing habitations for about four hundred people, encircled by large coffee plantations, the latter of which extend on the plateau east and west, and creep up the surrounding hills. The plateau is on an embankment, about half a mile from the St. Paul river, while the settlement itself is just above the rapids. From February to May the leaves of the coffee trees turn from emerald green to yellow and then the coffee crop is harvested, yielding an immense revenue to the inhabitants. On this account the people are nearly all of them in comfortable circumstances. The houses are generally two and half story frame buildings, very much like similar dwellings in the United States.

Arthington has a Baptist church with a flourishing Sunday school of 150 children, one third being natives, and many the sons of chiefs. There is also an M. E. church, and also the African M. E. church. There are two day schools:—one founded by the American Colonization Society with sixty pupils, the other supported by Mr. Edward S. Morris of Philadelphia, numbering 50 pupils. These give a practical understanding of the English language and arithmetic, such as is to be obtained in a New York grammar school.

Probably in no part of the United States is there a more general thirst for intellectual improvement. It seems a pity, under these circumstances, that something more cannot be done for Liberia.

If American Christians could only realize the vast good which would result from an increase of effort in that direction, we are convinced that they would spare no pains to spread enlightenment in this remote portion of the globe. The heathen in the adjacent neighborhood are very anxious to have the gospel preached to them.

Only think of the advantages which would result, not to Africa, but to the commercial interests of the United States, if the influence of Liberia could be extended throughout the whole western coast of the Continent. The constant complaint of the traders of Liberia is that the encroachments of England are becoming too grasping. America ought, for its own sake, putting all religious feeling out of the question, to strike for a stronger foothold there.

We acknowledge that we are behind in science and literature, but with the influx of active, earnest American men and women all obstacles would be overcome. Will not this appeal from a citizen of Liberia, named from its mother country "The Land of the Free," rouse a corresponding response? Is there not some place under heaven where the long oppressed African race can find a refuge? Shall we always be hewers of wood and drawers of water? God forbid. At the time when all the earth shall acknowledge Him to be the Lord, Africa will join in the universal song of rejoicing.

Yours sincerely,

HENRY TAYLOE.

LETTER FROM REV. JAMES O. HAYES.

Brewerville, June 28th, 1884.

DEAR SIR:—Since my arrival here, July 25th, 1881, between twenty and thirty new houses, log and frame, have been built, and instead of but one Sunday school, there are now three, and all flourishing. There are also two day schools. During 1883 we collected in the Sunday school of Zion Grove Baptist church, \$16; so far this year we have taken up \$39. The school lately received from America one of the best bells on this side of the big water, worth \$150, but costing us \$90. Of this amount we have paid \$56. Rev. Aaron Cartwright brought out a bell on his return last August from the States. Hence, instead of the hunter's horn, two superior bells in Brewerville now ring out the time for divine service.

Other interesting facts may be mentioned. I am in possession of an ear of corn $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, weighing exactly one pound, grown in Brewerville by my brother William, without any labor beyond cutting the bush and planting. The seed was sent to me by Rev. Caesar Johnson of Raleigh, N. C.

There are also in Brewerville some promising coffee farms. The settlement bids fair to become a prominent trading point. A German firm having several steamers running on the coast, are putting up a large store-house here for trade.

The bark *Monrovia* arrived on the 5th inst. and her company of emigrants have located at Brewerville. They are all well, and if industrious they will not regret coming to Liberia. My health was never better.

Yours truly,

JAMES O. HAYES.

RECEIPTS OF THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

During the month of June, 1884.

CONNECTICUT. (\$100.00)					
<i>Stamford.</i> Charles J. Starr.	100 00			ward cost of emigrant passage to Liberia, by Dr. John J. Turner,.....	100 00
MASSACHUSETTS. (\$10.00)				FOR REPOSITORY. (\$2.00)	
<i>Boston.</i> J. C. Braman, \$5, J. Huntington Wolcott, \$5, by D. D. Addison,.....	10 00			New Jersey \$1. Tennessee \$1.	2 00
NEW JERSEY. (\$10.00)				RECAPITULATION.	
<i>Trenton.</i> John S. Chambers	10 00			Donations	130 00
PENNSYLVANIA. (\$10.00)				Emigrants toward passage.....	100 00
<i>Hollidaysburgh.</i> Miss Mary Vance	10 00			For African Repository.....	2 00
NEBRASKA. (\$100.00)				Rent of Colonization Building,....	144 00
<i>Lincoln.</i> Grandison Miles, to-				Interest for Schools in Liberia,....	90 00
				Total Receipts in June ..	\$466 00

During the month of July, 1884.

NEW HAMPSHIRE. (\$5.00.)				FOR REPOSITORY. (\$2.00)	
<i>Portsmouth.</i> Rev. Alfred Elwyn....	5 00			Michigan.....	2 00
MASSACHUSETTS. (\$10.00.)				RECAPITULATION.	
<i>North Brookfield.</i> Thomas Snell....	10 00			Donations.....	45 00
RHODE ISLAND. (\$10.00.)				For African Repository.....	2 00
<i>Newport.</i> Miss Ellen Townsend ..	10 00			Rent of Colonization Building.....	145 00
NEW JERSEY. (\$20.00.)				Total Receipts in July....	\$192 00
<i>Princeton.</i> Proxy Collection, trans-					
mitted by Rev. Dr. John Maclean..	20 00				

During the month of August, 1884.

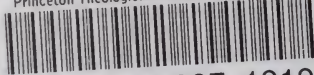
VERMONT. (\$34.78.)				RECAPITULATION.	
<i>Essex.</i> Annuity of Nathan Lathrop \$35. Less expenses 22 cts. by S. G. Butler, Ex.	34 78			Donation..	100 00
OHIO. (\$100.00.)				Annuity.....	34 78
<i>Oxford.</i> Dr. Alexander Guy....	100 00			Rent of Colonization Building.....	126 00
				Interest for Schools in Liberia.....	29 20
				Total Receipts in August.....	\$289 98



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